

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 IO-13 EAE-00 OMB-01

ACDA-07 DLOS-06 SAL-01 AGR-05 INT-05 EB-07 /108 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0842

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 10698

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, US, JA, CH, TW, KS, UR

SUBJ: SENATOR MANSFIELD'S CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY PRIMIN FUKUDA

REF: TOKYO 10553

SUMMARY. SENATOR MANSFIELD JULY 14 SOLICITED DEPUTY PRIMIN FUKUDA'S VIEWS ON LOCKHEED, SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS, US BASES IN JAPAN, OUT-STANDING BILATERAL ISSUES AND JOINT JAPAN-SOVIET SIBERIAN VENTURES. FUKUDA ASKED MANSFIELD ABOUT CURRENT US APPROACHES TO CHINA AND KOREA.

ECHOING MANY THEMES STRUCK BY FONMIN MIYAZAWA JULY 12, FUKUDA DESCRIBED THE PRESENT GOJ-PRC PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY IMPASSE AS DUE TO UNSETTLED CONDITIONS IN BOTH COUNTRIES. HE STRESSED THE NECESSITY OF THE MST FOR JAPAN, BUT, SAYING HE WAS NO MILITARY EXPERT, OFFERED NO OPINION ON WHETHER THERE WERE TOO MANY US BASES OR

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TROOPS HERE. AFTER INDICATING THERE WERE NO MAJOR BILATERAL ISSUES,

FUKUDA MENTIONED THE "NERVOUSNESS" JAPANESE FEEL ABOUT THE FISHERIES ISSUE RELATED TO THE PENDING US 200 MILE LIMIT.

SENATOR MANSFIELD, COMMENTING ON US CHINA POLICY, SAID THE TREND WAS TOWARD NORMALIZATION. THIS WOULD NOT TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE NOVEMBER PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, BUT WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THAT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THE SENATOR SAID US TROOPS COULD NOT BE MAINTAINED IN SOUTH KOREA AT CURRENT LEVELS INDEFINITELY. IN CONSULTATION WITH JAPAN AND THE ROK, THERE SHOULD BE GRADUAL WITHDRAWALS OVER A PERIOD OF TIME.

END SUMMARY.

1. MAIN POINTS OF SENATOR MANSFIELD'S JULY 14 CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA AT THE ECONOMIC PLANNING AGENCY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

2. LOCKHEED. FUKUDA SAID JAPAN IS NOW BEING LASHED BY A LOCKHEED TYPHOON AND IS IN THE MIDST OF A VERY IMPORTANT PERIOD OF CHANGE. BUT HE THOUGHT CONSERVATIVES COULD SURMOUNT THE SCANDAL, REUNITE AND RESTORE POLITICAL STABILITY WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE. MANSFIELD OPINED THAT IF THE US CAN SURVIVE A WATERGATE AND COME OUT WITH ITS INSTITUTIONS INTACT AND HEALTHIER, JAPAN CAN SURVIVE A LOCKHEED SCANDAL.

3. CHINA. ASKED HOW JAPAN WAS PROGRESSING TOWARD A PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH CHINA, FUKUDA RECALLED LAST FALL'S LENGTHY DISCUSSION BETWEEN FUMIYOSHI MIYAZAWA AND PRC LEADER CHIAO KUAN-HUA. THERE MIYAZAWA SAID JAPAN COULD ACCEPT INCLUSION OF AN ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN THE TREATY, IF A FOUR POINT JAPANESE INTERPRETATION WAS ACCEPTABLE TO PEKING, THE ESSENCE OF WHICH WAS THAT SUCH A CLAUSE WAS NOT AIMED AT ANY SPECIFIC COUNTRY (READ USSR). TO DATE, FUKUDA ADDED, THERE HAS BEEN NO FORMAL CHINESE RESPONSE TO THAT MIYAZAWA PROPOSAL BEYOND ONE OR TWO LOW LEVEL APPROACHES. MOREOVER SINCE THEN, CHOU HAS DIED, TENG HAS FALLEN, MAO'S HEALTH HAS DETERIORATED AND, IN JAPAN, THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL HAS CAUSED POLITICAL INSTABILITY. THUS THE PRESENT JAPANESE ATTITUDE IS TO "WAIT AND SEE."

4. RESPONDING TO A QUERY, FUKUDA SAID THE BALL IS IN THE CHINESE COURT, BUT IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THEY CAN THROW IT BACK GIVEN THE SITUATION THERE. IF THEY DON'T THROW IT BACK, HOWEVER, IT PRESENTS A PROBLEM FOR JAPAN: WHAT TO DO? FUKUDA NOTED IN PASSING THAT EARLIER SUBSTANTIAL "CHINA FEVER" HAS NOW SUBSIDED DUE TO THE TROUBLED DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION. FUKUDA ASKED ABOUT CURRENT US CONFIDENTIAL

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POLICY TOWARD CHINA.

5. SENATOR MANSFIELD REPLIED THAT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE STILL HOLDS. THERE HAVE BEEN US BASE AND TROOP REDUCTIONS ON TAIWAN, WE AGREE THERE IS ONLY ONE CHINA (SIC) AND, IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SO FAR, BOTH PARTIES HAVE FAVORED NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. MANSFIELD SAID THERE WOULD BE NO NORMALIZATION BEFORE THE NOVEMBER ELECTION, BUT WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THAT REMAINS TO BE

SEEN. DURING HIS 1974 VISIT TO CHINA, THE CHINESE SUGGESTED THE
"JAPAN
FORMULA" AS THE WAY TO APPROACH NORMALIZATION. THE PRESENT ATTITUDE
IN THE US IS TO PROCEED ON THE NIXON-FORD PATH TOWARD NORMALIZATION,
BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS, WHEN? THIS RELATES ALSO TO PEKING'S PATI-
ENCE. THEY HAVE BEEN PATIENT THUS FAR AND HAVE PROMISED NOT TO TAKE
TAIWAN BY FORCE BUT TO SEEK PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF TAIWAN WITH
THE MAINLAND. BUT WHEN? WE ARE DEALING WITH IMPONDERABLES, BUT THE
TREND IS TOWARD FURTHER NORMALIZATION.

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6. FUKUDA ASKED WHAT WOULD BE DONE ABOUT THE US-ROC DEFENSE TREATY
IF THE "JAPAN FORMULA" WERE ADOPTED. SENATOR MANSFIELD REPLIED THAT
RECOGNITION OF THE PRC, FULL OR PARTIAL, IS THE PREROGATIVE OF THE
EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND IT IS OBVIOUSLY A TICKLISH QUESTION. HE WAS
NOT CERTAIN HOW IT WOULD BE APPROACHED, BUT IT IS HIS UNDERSTANDING

THAT WITH RECOGNITION OF THE PRC, THE DEFENSE TREATY WOULD LAPSE. BUT HOW THIS IS HANDLED IS UP TO THE EXECUTIVE -- THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE -- AND WILL NOT BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS FOR APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL.

7. KOREA. IN RESPONSE TO FUKUDA'S QUESTION ABOUT KOREA'S FUTURE, SENATOR MANSFIELD SAID THAT THE SECOND US DIVISION COULD NOT BE STATIONED THERE INDEFINITELY. IN CONSULTATION WITH JAPAN AND THE ROK, THERE MUST BE WITHDRAWALS OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. THERE SHOULD ALSO
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BE EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A UNION OF THE TWO KOREAS. HERE JAPAN, THE PRC, THE US AND EVEN THE USSR MIGHT COLLECTIVELY EXERT SOME INFLUENCE. WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF JAPAN'S CONCERNS ON THIS SCORE, BUT THE PRESENT SITUATION CANNOT CONTINUE INDEFINITELY. WE HAVE, IN FACT, ALREADY REDUCED US FORCES THERE FROM 52,000 TO 40,000, PROVIDING FUNDS TO MODERNIZE ROK FORCES. SENATOR MANSFIELD EMPHASIZED THAT THE US CONSIDERS JAPAN ITS MOST IMPROTANT ALLY IN THE PACIFIC.

8. US BASES/FORCES IN JAPAN. SENATOR MANSFIELD ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE PRESENTLY TOO MANY US BASES OR TOO MANY US TROOPS IN JAPAN. REPLYING, FUKUDA SAID JAPAN MUST DEFEND ITSELF THROUGH ITS OWN EFFORTS. BUT IT IS A NUCLEAR AGE AND THE JAPANESE PEOPLE WILL NOT PERMIT JAPAN'S NUCLEAR ARMAMENT. MOREOVER, THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS OFFENSIVE ARMAMENT AND CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. THEREFORE, THE US-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY IS ESSENTIAL. FUKUDA SAID HE WAS NO MILITARY EXPERT AND DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THERE WERE TOO MANY BASES OR TROOPS, BUT JAPAN WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SUFFICIENT US TROOPS TO MAKE UP ANY JAPANESE DEFICIENCIES AND ASSURE JAPAN'S DEFENSE. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR MANSFIELD'S QUESTION AS TO WHETHER US PACIFIC BASES SHOULD BE IN JAPAN OR ELSEWHERE, FUKUDA SAID IN JAPAN OR OUT -- OR BOTH-- WOULD BE ALL RIGHT.

9. OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES. ASKED ABOUT SIGNIFICANT CURRENT BILATERAL ISSUES, FUKUDA SAID THERE WERE NO MAJOR MATTERS OUTSTANDING, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE FISHING PROBLEM, THAT IS, THE PENDING EXTENSION OF US TERRITORIAL SEAS TO 200 MILES. SENATOR MANSFIELD SAID THE 200 MILE LIMIT WAS PASSED IN SELF-DEFENSE AFTER LOS DISCUSSIONS APPEARED UNSUCCESSFUL AND MEXICO AND OTHER NATIONS EXTENDED THEIR LIMITS TO 200 MILES. THE LAW WILL NOT TAKE EFFECT FOR ONE YEAR AND, IF A SOLUTION EMERGES AT THE NEXT LOS SESSION, THE LAW WILL BE NULL AND VOID. FUKUDA SIMPLY NOTED THAT JAPANESE RELY HEAVILY ON FISH FOR PROTEIN AND ARE THEREFORE NERVOUS.

10. SIBERIAN JOINT VENTURES. SENATOR MANSFIELD ASKED WHAT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE ON JOINT VENTURES IN SIBERIA. FUKUDA REPLIED THAT VARIOUS PROJECTS HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED BUT THERE WERE NO CONCRETE DEVELOPMENTS EXCEPT FOR TIMBER, ON WHICH AGREEMENT WAS REACHED MUCH EARLIER, AND SOME PROGRESS ON NATURAL GAS. OTHER PROJECTS SUCH AS RAILWAYS, PETROLEUM, ETC., APPEARED TO BE "FADING AWAY."

1. COMMENT. FUKUDA BROKE LITTLE NEW GROUND DURING THE INTERVIEW, BY
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AND LARGE SIMPLY ECHOING STATEMENTS MADE BY FONMIN MIYAZAWA TWO DAYS
EARLIER. UNDERSTANDABLY IN THE MIDST OF LOCKHEED-RELATED ARRESTS AND
SPECULATION, HE SEEMED PREOCCUPIED WITH THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE.

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